## Message Text

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42.

ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NEA-06 PM-03 SPC-01 L-02 CIAE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4883

SECRET DAKAR 4764

LIMDIS

EO 11652GDS

TAGS: PFOR SG IS XF

SUBJ: SENEGAL AND ISRAEL

REF: STATE 209574

- 1. SUMMARY. PRESENT TEL SEPARATES JUSTIFICATION AND EXPLANATION US ROLE IN ME FROM QUESTION RETENTION GOS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. FORMER POSES NO SPECIAL PROBLEM. LATTER PROBABLY NOT MAINTAINABLE FOR LONG UNLESS US WILLING TO WEIGH IN, PROBABLY AT HIGHEST LEVEL, WITH REQUEST GOS SWIM AGAINST CURRENT BLACK AFRICAN TIDE. WHETHER IT IS WORTH OUR WHILE PUT US PRESTIGE ON LINE WITH SENGHOR OVER THIS QUESTION IS SEEN AS QUESTION FOR DECISION BY DEPARTMENT. END SUMMARY.;
- 2. REFTEL SEEMS TO RAISE TWO RELATED BUT DISTINCT ISSUES: JUSTIFICATION AND EXPLANATION OF US POLICY AND ACTIONS IN CURRENT ME CRISIS, AND QUESTION OF DURATION OF DIPLOMATIC

ACTIONS IN CURRENT ME CRISIS, AND QUESTION OF DURATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN SENEGAL AND ISRAEL.

3. I DO NOT BELIEVE FIRST PRESENTS ANY PARTICULAR PROBLEM IN TERMS US-SENEGAL BILATERAL RELATIONS. US SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL ACCEPTED HERE AS A GIVEN, AND NOTHING WE HAVE YET DONE OR ARE LIKELY DO SHOULD SERIOUSLY DISTURB INTEREST OF SENEGALESE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE IN GOOD RELATIONS WITH USG AND WITH PRIVATE US CITIZENS AND BUSINESS INTERESTS. NOT EVERYTHING WE SAY ON ME WILL BE BELIEVED; IT IS NOT SECRET

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GENERALLY REPORTED NOR BELIEVED HERE THAT WE WITHHELD ARMS RESUPPLY

FOR FIVE DAYS AFTER OUTBREAK OF WAR WHILE SOVIETS FIRST MOUNTED MASSIVE EFFORT. THERE FORE IT WORTHWHILE SEEK OCCASIONS QUIETLY SET RECORD STRAIGHT, BUT IT NOT ALWAYS USEFUL TO PROTEST TOO LOUDLY ON LESSER POINTS OF FACT.

4. ISRAELI QUESTION APPEARS IN DIFFERENT CONTEXT, AND HERE IT MIGHT BE USEFUL REVIEW BRIEFLY ACTORS IN DETERMINING GOS FOREIGN POLICY: A) SENGHOR. INDUBITABLY SOLE DECISION-MAKER ON ANY IMPORTANT ISSUE, ABSENT FROM COUNTRY AT LEAST UNTIL NOVEMBER 3. NOW IN PARIS, LEAVING FOR LONDON AT END OF WEEK TO ACCEPT HONORARY DEGREE OXFORD. DUE IN ADDIS ABABA NOV 1 OR 2 TO RECEIVE HAILE SELASSIE PRIZE. SENGHOR FASCINATED BY ME DRAMA, PREOCCUPIED BY ANY CHANCE HE MIGHT PLAY SOME ROLE, HOWEVER MINOR. HENCE HAS BEEN ISSUING DAILY STATEMENTS IN PARIS FOR PAST WEEK OR TWO WHICH, WHILE THEY CONTAIN JUSTIFICATION FOR MAINTAINING RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL FOR PRESENT, SERVE TO KEEP ISSUE VERY MUCH BEFORE SENEGALESE PUBLIC. YET HE IS CHRISTIAN PRESIDENT IN MOSLEM COUNTRY, CANNOT AFFORD TO BE THE LAST BLACK AF-RICAN COUNTRY TO BREAK, AND THE ROLL IS GETTING SHORT. WOULD CALL ATTENTION TO SEVERAL RECENT SENGHOR STATEMENTS CONCERNING SECSTATE KISSINGER ROLE IN ME; IT SEEMS FROM HERE THAT HE IS ALMOST INVITING SOME FORM OF COMMUNICATION FROM OR ON BEHALF OF SECRETARY CONCERNING CURRENT ME CRISIS

ISRAELI POINT OF VIEW IN FORMULATING GOS FOREIGN POLICY, TO EXTENT

B) FONMIN ASSANE SECK, FORMER LEFTIST IN SENEGAL TERMS, BELIEVED

C) PRIMIN ABDOU DOUF. IN SENGHOR ABSENCE HE IS PROBABLY SUREST COM-MUNICATIONS LINK WITH ABSENT PRESIDENT, MODERATE, ALWAYS COURTEOUS. COULD BE RELIED UPON TO DELIVER MESSAGE TO SENGHOR, ALTHOUGH USE OF HIM AS CONDUIT MIGHT TEND TO ANNOY FONMIN SECK AS GOING OVER HIS HEAD.

FAIRLY ROUTINELY PRO-ARAB, HARDLY LIKELY BE CONSTRUTIVE INFLUENCE FROM

5. BELIEVE ISRAELI OPTIONS VERY LIMITED IN TRYING CONSERVE BARE RE-LATIONS WITH GOS. TOTAL LOCAL ISRAELI POPULATION AROUND 9, INCLU-DING A COUPLE OF HIGHLY DISPENSABLE TECHNICIANS. NO SERIOUS ONGOING AID PROGRAM. GOI DOES NOT, ACCORDING ISRAELI AMBASSADOR, WISH ACCORD SENGHOR EGO-BUILDING ROLE IN CURRENT ME SITUATION, AND SO HAS LITTLE IN WAY OF CARDS TO PLAY EXCEPT ROUTINE LETTER FROM EBAN TO SECK, WHICH BEING DELIVERED THIS AFTERNOON. SHOULD ALSO MENTION OBVIOUS, THAT THERE NO PUBLIC OPINION SUPPORT TO SPEAK OF IN SENEGAL FOR IS-RAEL, SO THAT DECISION BY GOS TO BREAK WOULD PROBABLY MEET WITH AP-SECRET

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HE ABLE PLAY ANY DETERMINING ROLE.

## PROVAL TO INDIFFERENCE.

6. ABOVE ANALYSIS POSES POLICY QUESTION FOR USG. HOW MUCH IS IT WORTH TO US TO PRESERVE GOI-GOS LINK IN TERMS OF WEIGHING IN AND PLACING TO SOME EXTENT US PRESTIGE ON LINE? I DO NOT BELIEVE PRO FORMA DEMARCHE IN DAKAR LIKELY ACCOMPLISH ANYTHING, AND MAY DO US SOME HARM IN TERMS OF EMPHASIZING CLOSENESS OF US-ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP. IF ON OTHER HAND WE DO ATTACH SUFFICIENT IMPORTANCE TO AN EFFORT TO MAINTAIN THE LINK, IT SEEMS DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER

HIGH LEVEL MESSAGE TO SENGHOR, WHICH WOULD PROBABLY BE MOST EFFECTIVE AND DRAMATIC IF DELIVERED TO HIM IN PARIS OR LONDON. IT MIGHT TAKE FORM OF EITHER WRITTEN OR ORAL MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY, AND WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY STATED IN ORDER NOT UNDULY AROUSE HIS EXPECTATIONS THAT WE ENVISAGE FURTHER ROLE FOR HIM IN FUTURE ME NEGOTIATIONS AND DEVELOPMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, PERHAPS SOME CIRCUMSTANCES MIGHT BE INVISAGED IN FUTURE IN WHICH HE MIGHT BE ABLE RENDER SOME SERVICE AS BRIDGE AT LEAST TO REMAINING BLACK AFRICANS WHO HAVE BEEN SO QUICK TO JUMP ON THE BREAK IN RELATIONS BANDWAGON. AN APPEAL TO SENGHOR MIGHT WELL BE COUCHED IN HIS OWN FAMILIAR PHRASE ABOUT IMPORTANCE OF DIALOGUE AND KEEPING OPEN CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATIONS.

7. OBVIOUSLY, SUCH DEMARCHE TO SENGHOR HAS ITS POTENTIAL COST IN TERMS OF EVENTUAL QUID ASKED OF US FOR THE QUO. IT IS THE BALANCING OF THIS FACTOR AGAINST IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING SMALL ISRAELI FOOTHOLD HERE THAT SEEMS APPROPRIATE DECISION FOR THE DEPARTMENT.
8. IN MEANWHILE, I SHALL SEEK EARLY OCCASION EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH FONMIN SECK, MAKING POINTS OUTLINED PARA 3 REFTEL WITH REGARD US POLICY AND ROLE. PERKINS

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